42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-âm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

It is called a *gaod*. The people down stream use bows 721
and arrows, knowledge of which they have learned 411
from the Negritos. When all are ready, they gather 726
and hold a feast called a *magboto* to which their *anito*. *Manglangbang*, is invited. Manglangbang is the fierce *anito* who guides the warriors. He directs them whom to kill. Upon his order a warrior must even kill a companion. At the *magboto* the warriors swear to stand by each other, and a dog is killed, which a warrior carries on their journey, *cavao*, to the place of the enemy.

At the close of the *magboto* the warrior band sets 726
out. It is followed for a distance by the women, who shout. The warriors also shout and continue on their journey guided by the *anito*, *Panugtang*. As they enter the country of the enemy, the warriors move silently and keep under cover, for the attack must be a complete surprise. Upon arriving near the place of the enemy, the warriors hide in the forest, cooking their food with fire concealed, and in that place pass the night.

While it is still dark, the party moves up and silently surrounds the *barangay* of the enemy. They keep well-hidden until the occupants start to come out. Those going to their fields or on other errands are ambushed and their heads taken. The object of the [72]
expedition is to take as many heads as possible. All heads have the same value; those of men, women, children or babies, whether taken in a fair fight or by stealth. Each one has the required magical vital energy. There may be quite a fight, with numbers of 727
warriors killed or wounded on both sides. Occasion-

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his 584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews- [534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the [836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair. for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he 584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

000 chantment to the riverside. And so it was done. The Nagcolman people were much surprised that such a wonderful event should happen. Imlang and his sweetheart joined the party, but she was put into a bag, so that no one could know of her presence.

726 Not long after this, Imlang led his brothers to the place where the lady lay in his bag. The warriors rushed to the house where the feast was being held, without advance warning to the enemy. The enemy were thus caught by surprise. Imlang did not participate in the fight lest the one in the bag might disappear. The whole place then became a deep lake.

727 All the captured property along with the two prisoners, Gaoan and Dawilian, were sent ahead to the impregnable Pindayan. Live snakes and irons were used as the hand cuffs of the prisoners, who were Naglalanaoan's brothers.

The victors returned to their home with blood all over their bodies, excepting their eyes. Then Gaoan was tied to a tree while Dawilian was tied to a ladder. Another feast was then held in honor of the victory. A bird, *Bulaoitan*, bearing a betel nut and a betel nut leaf was sent out to invite countless people to attend the feast and the execution of the prisoners. Immediately, a great number of people were present.

When the people had all entered the house, late in the evening, Imlang opened his bag and out sprang the chaste Naglalanaoan. The house was brightened by her presence just as if it were a bright moonlight night. Great quantities of food and jars of wine were served. But the quantity remained just as if nothing had been eaten or drunk.

Early in the morning the beheading of the captives was announced. So the crowd went to the place of execution and seated themselves on the great golden chairs. Suddenly, upon the appearance of Naglalanaoan in the crowd, the morning became absolutely dark. The sun's rays had been blotted out by the consummately beautiful Naglalanaoan. (*Naglalanaoan* means refreshing). She herself had prayed that the mighty sun might send her bright rays. And it had done so. The fair bride did not witness the activities very long, as she had been requested to stay in the chimney so that she should not see her brothers beheaded. Otherwise she would vanish. 727

Soon Ewagan untied Gaoan and allowed him to refresh himself for a while. They exchanged glasses of *basi*. But alas, the time came for them to clash. There they clashed with spears, *gaods*, and shields; but now Gaoan's head was off, and the victim ran about headless. At last he fell dead. Next out sprang Gadulan and Dawilian like two eagles fighting in the air. The crowd was in deep excitement when Dawilian was seen running headless and then collapsing breathless. Shouts for joy and cries of sorrow were heard everywhere. The captives heads were placed on the fan-shaped tops of bamboo poles put by the wayside, a practice which is still adhered to in Apayao today.

The time came for the people to disperse, each 000 with different feelings in his heart. All that were left in the place were the victors. When everybody was fast asleep, the bride began to blame the bridegroom for the execution of her brothers. The bridegroom did not dare to reply for fear that his charm-